



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

E
713
.V151

844,117

“IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY”

DUTCH COLONIZERS IN MALAYSIA

ANNEXATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

BY

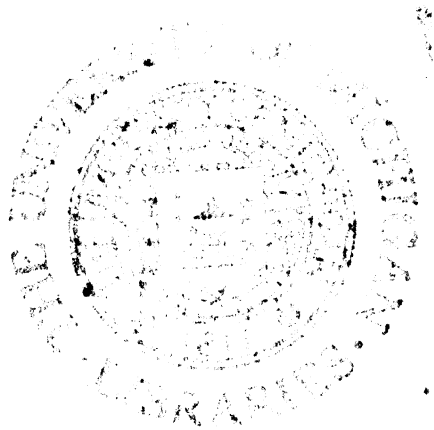
JOHN J. VALENTINE

PRESIDENT OF WELLS FARGO & COMPANY

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

FEBRUARY 18, 1899

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES



25
12/93

“IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY”

DUTCH COLONIZERS IN MALAYSIA
ANNEXATION OF THE PHILIPPINES

BY

JOHN J. VALENTINE

PRESIDENT OF WELLS FARGO & COMPANY

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

FEBRUARY 18, 1899

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

E
713
• V151

PRESS OF
THE HICKS-JUDD COMPANY
SAN FRANCISCO

PREFACE.

The United States of America is confronted by a crisis the most grave and serious since the dawn of its history. We are brought face to face with the portentous significance of the maxim "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." In short we have come to a parting of the ways, and the problem to be solved is whether we shall remain an American Democracy, or become a new-born Hydra of Plutocratic Imperialism.

In presenting my own views on this issue, I have, as is my practice in writing, drawn freely from any source elucidative of my subject, and amongst those not directly credited I wish to make thankful acknowledgements to Mr. Chas. Francis Adams, Mr. George Gunton and Mr. Carl Schurz.

JNO. J. VALENTINE.

SAN FRANCISCO,
February 18, 1899.

"Whoever hesitates to utter that which he thinks the highest truth, lest it should be too much in advance of the time, may reassure himself by looking at his acts from an impersonal point of view. Let him duly realize that his opinion is a unit of force, constituting, with other such units, the general power which works out social changes. It is not for nothing that he has in him these sympathies with some principles and repugnance to others. He, with all his capacities, and aspirations, and beliefs, is not an accident, but a product of the time. He must remember that while he is a descendant of the past, he is a parent of the future; and that his thoughts are as children born to him, which he may not carelessly let die."—*Herbert Spencer.*

SIDE LIGHT FROM HISTORY.

The Romans were at war with the Tarentines, who, not being able to go on with the war, nor yet, through the foolhardiness, and the viciousness of their popular speakers, to come to terms and give it up, proposed now to make Pyrrhus their general, and engage him in it, as of all the neighboring kings the most at leisure, and the most skilful as a commander. The more grave and discreet citizens opposing these counsels, were partly overborne by the noise and violence of the multitude; while others, seeing this, absented themselves from the assemblies; only one, Meton, a very sober man, on the day this public decree was to be ratified, when the people were now seating themselves, came dancing into the assembly like one quite drunk, with a withered garland and a small lamp in his hand, and a woman playing on a flute before him. And as in great multitudes met at such popular assemblies, no decorum can be well observed, some clapped him, others laughed, none forbade him, but called to the woman to play, and to him to sing to the company, and when they thought he was going to do so, "'Tis only right of you, O men of Tarentum," he said, "not to hinder any from making themselves merry, that have a mind to it, while it is yet in their power; and if you are wise, you will take out your pleasure of your freedom while you can, for you must change your course of life, and follow other diet when Pyrrhus comes to town." These words made a great impression upon many of the Tarentines and a confused murmur went about that he had spoken much to the purpose; but some who feared they should be sacrificed if a peace were made with the Romans, reviled the whole assembly for so tamely suffering themselves to be abused by a drunken sot, and crowding together upon Meton, thrust him out. So the public order was passed, and ambassadors sent into Epirus, not only in their own names, but in those of all the Italian Greeks, carrying presents to Pyrrhus, and letting him know they wanted a general of reputation and experience; and that they could furnish him with large forces of Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and Tarentines, amounting to 20 thousand horse; and 350 thousand foot. This did not only quicken Pyrrhus, but raised an eager desire, for the expedition in the Epirots.

There was one Cineas, a Thessalian, considered to be a man of very good sense, a disciple of the great orator Demosthenes, who of all that were famous at that time for speaking well, most seemed, as in a picture, to revive in the minds of the audience the memory of his force and vigor of eloquence, and being always about Pyrrhus, and sent about in his service to several cities verified the saying of Euripides, that

* * * "the force of words

Can do what e'er is done by conquering swords."

And Pyrrhus was used to say, that Cineas had taken more towns with his words than with his arms, and always did him the honor to employ him in

SIDE LIGHT FROM HISTORY.

his most important occasions. This person, seeing Pyrrhus eagerly preparing for Italy, led him one day when he was at his leisure into the following reasonings: "The Romans, sir, are reported to be great warriors and conquerors of many warlike nations; if God permit us to overcome them, how should we use our victory?" "You ask," said Pyrrhus, "a thing evident of itself. The Romans once conquered, there is neither Greek nor barbarian city that will resist us, but we shall presently be masters of all Italy, the extent and resources and strength of which any one should rather profess to be ignorant of than yourself." Cineas, after a little pause, "And having subdued Italy, what shall we do next?" Pyrrhus, not yet discovering his intention, "Sicily," he replied, "next holds out her arms to receive us, a wealthy and populous island, and easily to be gained; for since Agathocles left it, only faction and anarchy, and the licentious violence of the demagogues prevail." "You speak," said Cineas, "what is perfectly probable, but will the possession of Sicily put an end to the war?" "God grant us," answered Pyrrhus, "victory and success in that, and we will use these as forerunners of greater things; who could forbear from Libya and Carthage then within reach, which Agathocles, even when forced to fly from Syracuse, and passing the sea only with a few ships, had all but surprised? These conquests once perfected, will any assert that of the enemies who now pretend to despise us, any one will dare to make further resistance?" "None," replied Cineas, "for then it is manifest we may with such mighty forces regain Macedon, and make an absolute conquest of Greece; and when all these are in our power, what shall we do then?" Said Pyrrhus, smiling, "we will live at our ease, my dear friend, and drink all day, and divert ourselves with pleasant conversation." When Cineas had led Pyrrhus with his argument to this point: "And what hinders us now, sir, if we had a mind to be merry, and entertain one another, since we have at hand without trouble all those necessary things, to which through much blood and great labor, and infinite hazards and mischief done to ourselves and to others, we design at last to arrive?"

Such reasonings rather troubled Pyrrhus with the thought of the happiness he was quitting, than any way altered his purpose, being unable to abandon the hopes of what he so much desired—the innate disease of Princes being ambition of greater empire.—*Plutarch's "Life of Pyrrhus."*

Pyrrhus passed three years in Sicily but though want of political tact gave offense to the Greek cities, which he treated too much in the fashion of a despot, not paying any respect to their local constitutions, customs, usages, etc., or harmonizing their democratic tastes and love of freedom. He was killed at Argos at forty-six years of age.

“IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY.”

DUTCH COLONIZERS IN MALAYSIA.

American occupation of Manila very forcibly brings to our attention the question of reputed benefits accruing to Orientals in the appropriation of their lands and the enslavement of their peoples by European powers. The advocates of expansion, who, by the way, are actuated more by motives of prospective pecuniary gain than by sentiments of loyalty to our Republic or solicitude for the Filipinos or Cubans, cite for strikingly convincing arguments the Dutch as “peaceful colonizers,” and their gem possession, Java.

While in the Orient last spring among other books of travel I came upon one descriptive of Java by Miss Scidmore, containing many facts concerning the alleged civilizing influence of Dutch rule, a few of which I think may not be uninteresting, considering the mad craze for expansion, so-called Imperialism, now prevailing in the United States.

The history of Netherlands India—the Dutch Colonies in Malaysia—is a light and shadow picture. Its bright side depicts the wealthy plantation owner in Europe surrounded by every luxury of his home land, annually in receipt of millions of guilders from his East Indian plantations. The contrast is found in the humid tropic lands, where some 30,000,000 patient, cowed Malays, working under the harsh supervision of agents, produce the wealth that rightfully is theirs, because earned by them on lands which have been wrested or tricked from them and held by the foreigners at the expense of thousands of lives annually among the white troops sent out to maintain a usurped supremacy, gained grad-

ually over the unsuspecting and friendly natives by false pledges, broken promises and ultimately by force of arms.

The story of Netherlands India is told in that of Java, the garden of the East, the finest and most fascinating tropical island of the world—best known because more frequently visited than Amboyna, Borneo, the Celebes and Sumatra, the other island possessions to which the Dutch lay claim. The population of Java, 24,000,000, is greater than the total of all the other islands in the Indian ocean, and it has a total area equal only to that of New York State. Early in the last century it was a source of yearly remittances of millions of guilders to Holland. In addition to this the colony was drained to pay enormous sums to defray the cost of extravagant local administration, the Dutch Governor receiving a yearly salary equivalent to \$100,000, and additionally \$60,000 for expensive entertainments. Twenty-six local governors were each paid \$10,000 a year and given liberal allowances for incidental expenses. Besides this an army of 30,000 men, one-third of whom were foreigners recruited in Holland, was thrown upon the support of this little island, not larger than New York State. Think of it!

When it becomes necessary to levy some new tax, the native is asked for proof of title to his land and for a declaration of its producing capacity; also how much he thinks he ought to pay. The unsophisticated Javanese usually replies TEN PER CENT, and he is assessed accordingly and must be contented, for he named the tax himself. The Dutch official sits daily in the shade of the cement portico of the tiny town hall, watching the natives, who from their palm-leaf bags build up piles of copper and silver in payment of their taxes.

The Javanese rank after the Japanese, as the most attractive, gentle and innately refined people of the Far East. They are the finer flower of the Malay race and incline to Moslemism, if anything, but take their religion lightly, and are so lukewarm in "The Fire and Sword" faith that they would easily relapse into their former mild Brahmanism if Islam's power were withdrawn. The Dutch have always prohibited pilgrim-

ages to Mecca, because those returning with the green turban were viewed with reverence and accredited with supernatural powers, which made their influence a menace to Dutch rule.

The language of these people is soft and musical,—the Italian of the tropics—their ideas are poetic and their love of flowers, perfumes, music, dancing, heroic plays and emotional art of every description proves them highly esthetic. Their reverence for rank and age, coupled with an elaborate etiquette and punctillious courtesy to one another, marked even in the common people, when contrasted with their abject crouching humility before their despotic Dutch masters, are themes for sad reflection and arouse just indignation. The sight of quiet, inoffensive peddlers, who beseech chiefly with their eyes, being furiously kicked out of a hotel courtyard or any other public place, when Mynheer does not choose to buy, causes the casual looker-on to recoil; but to see little native children actually lifted by the ear and hurled away from a humble vantage point on the curbstone to make way for a pajamaed Dutchman who wishes to view some troops that may be marching by, makes one sick at heart.

Said a Dutch official to a visitor : “ I noticed you looked at the WHIPPING-POST in the jail. Yes ; we sometimes flog them lightly. If a man on parole does not return to the jail in time a gendarme generally finds him in his hut and brings him back, when, as he expects, he gets a few lashes. We don't punish severely—they would never forget that.”
 Query : CAN THEY EVER FORGET THE INDIGNITY OF A SINGLE LASH, WHICH THOUGH LIGHTLY LAID ON YET STIFLES OR DESTROYS THE SPIRIT OF MANHOOD ?

The colonists (I quote liberally) do not welcome or encourage tourists. The Dutch brain is slow and suspicious, and they firmly believe that no stranger comes to Java on errand friendly to the colonizers. Within twenty-four hours after arrival the colonial authorities insist upon knowing the object of his visit. All returning travelers dwell upon the conditions due to the acts of the rapacious and merciless Hollanders who

have gone to the tropics, 9000 miles away from home, to acquire an empire by enslaving a race and inflicting their hampering customs and restrictions even upon casual visitors.

Until recently no steps were taken to educate the Javanese, and previous to 1864 they were not allowed to study the Dutch language. All colonial officers are obliged to learn low Malay, that being the recognized language of administration and justice, instead of the many Javanese and Sudanese dialects, with their two forms of polite and common speech. The few Javanese, even those of highest rank, who acquired the Dutch language and attempted to employ it in conversation with officials were brusquely answered in Malay—an implication that the superior language was reserved for Europeans only. This helped the conquerors to keep the line of distinction between them and their subject people clearly and sharply drawn and while the Dutch could understand what the natives were saying they have their own talk always without reserve in a tongue foreign to servants or even Malay princes.

Dutch is now taught in the schools maintained for natives by the colonial government. Two hundred and one primary schools were opened in 1887, with an attendance of 39,707 pupils. The higher schools of Batavia have been opened to the sons of native officials and such rich Javanese as can afford them. Conservatives lament the "spoiling of the natives" by all that the government does for them. They complain that the Javanese are becoming too independent since schoolmasters, independent planters and tourists came. The "Samarang Handelsblad" newspaper comments as follows :

"The Javanese can no longer be led and driven with facility as a flock of sheep, however much we may deplore this change in their disposition. They now come freely into contact with Europeans, the education given them has had an effect, and communication has been rendered easy. They do not fear the Europeans as they formerly did. The time is past when the entire population of a village could be driven with a stick to a far-off plantation—the pruning knife and the ax would be quickly turned against the driver in these latter days. *They*

no longer believe that the European is interested in their welfare, and are well aware that they are cheated out of a large proportion of the value of the coffee harvest. However much the colonist may regret it, the period of darkness is passing away and the time of coercion in Java giving place to better conditions, and any attempt to stay the tide of progress will only call forth the enmity of the natives. The Malay spirit of revenge has done much, perhaps, to bring about the present governmental era of comparative kindness, fair-dealing and justice in Java." The state committee on government coffee plantations says in its latest reports: "If the native has not become more progressive and sensible, he is, at least, wiser in matters about which he should be kept in the dark, unless the government means to remove coercion at the expense of the exchequer."

The Army of the Netherlands is well paid and cared for. After the Indian Mutiny the Dutch were in great fear of an uprising in Java and placed less confidence in native troops. Only Europeans can hold officers' commissions. The native troops are all Mohammedan; care is exercised to prevent natives of any one district or province from composing a majority in any regiment, and they are frequently changed from one post to another.

The Dutch officials condescend equally to the rich planters and the native princes, while the planters hate and deride the officials, and the natives hate the Dutch of either class and despise their own princes who are subservient to the foreigners. *The wars and jealousies of rank and race, and the caste distinction resulting from the intermingling of the white and the dark races, flourish with tropical luxuriance.*

The Dutch do not allow the yellow colonials (Arabs and Chinese and their offspring) so-called European freedom, an expression which constitutes a sufficient admission of the existence of restraint over the Asiatics. The native hatred of the Chinese is the inheritance of those past centuries when the Dutch farmed out the revenue to Chinese. Under this system the Chinese were given thousands of acres of land with its concomitant servile Malay labor. These boundaries were grad-

ually extended and by increased exactions and secret levies the wretched natives were oppressed by their Asiatic brethren in a manner that the tyranny and rapacity of the Dutch never approached. To-day the Chinese hold financial supremacy over both Dutch and natives, in appreciation of which they are unmercifully taxed by the Dutch. Formerly the Celestials were assessed according to the length of their queues and for each long finger nail. They are mulcted on arrival and departure, for births, deaths, and for every business privilege. In 1740 the Chinese fomented insurrection against the Dutch, joining with the disaffected natives. They intrenched themselves in a suburban fort which the Dutch invested, and the 20,000 Chinese then within the walls were put to death, neither age nor sex being spared.

Many officials and planters have married native wives and in the eyes of the law these wives enjoy the privileges in full of Europeans. No native man is allowed to marry or employ a European, not even as a tutor or governess, and no such subversion of social order as the employment of a European servant is to be thought of. The laws allow a European to put away his native wife, to be legally divorced from her upon the slightest pretext, or to abandon her and her children with small risk of their obtaining redress.

Railway trains in Java do not run at night, (though night service would be a great advantage in a hot country), for the reason that train crews are composed entirely of natives (such work being considered beneath the dignity of Europeans), and the cautious Dutch will not trust native engineers after dark.

Dutch affairs in Sumatra are not so prosperous. In 1872 the Dutch received Sumatra from the English in exchange for the imaginary rights of Holland in Ashantee and the Gold Coast of Africa. The natives of Sumatra, warned by the sad fate of the Javanese, have resisted, and the warfare is still in progress. Dutch commanders are well satisfied to hold their chain of forts along the western hills. In the province of Atcheen the war has been almost continuous, and the native population has in thirty years been reduced from

450 thousand to less than 300 thousand. *In one of four years of the war, seventy million guilders were spent and seventy out of every hundred Dutch soldiers succumbed to the climate before going into an encounter.*

At Batavia, the principal city of Java, which was originally situated in the midst of a deadly swamp, the mortality was appalling and the settlement in its early years was known as the graveyard of Europeans. Dutch records show that at Batavia 1,119,375 deaths occurred between the years 1730 and 1752, or in 22 years; and 87,000 soldiers and sailors died in the government hospitals between the years 1714 and 1776.

To indicate the small percentage of Whites to Malays, I mention, in passing, that at the present time the total population of the district known as the Malay Straits Settlements is probably 550 thousand, of whom not four thousand are Whites.

“Our attention in these days is frequently called to the admirable, and, in many respects, successful administrative machinery introduced by Great Britain in India. But it must not be forgotten that this machinery was evolved from several centuries of rapine, corruption, disastrous blunders, savage struggles, murderous revolts and indescribable cruelties, and that even now many wise men in England gravely doubt in their hearts whether it was best for their country to undertake the conquest of India at all, and are troubled by gloomy forebodings of a calamitous catastrophe that may some day engulf that splendid fabric of Asiatic dominion.”

A word as to colonies further north: Macao, a Portuguese settlement, founded 350 years ago on a little peninsula some 50 miles south of Hong Kong, has a population of 80,000; of whom 75,000 are Asiatics—Chinese, Siamese, a few Filipinos and Japanese, and the usual quota of half castes, leaving but 5000 people who may be classed as Europeans. This colony has a Portuguese Governor-General and a body of troops, and its administration is but a travesty on colonial management. The greatest local revenue is derived from the licenses issued to keepers of Chinese gambling houses, where fan tan is played,

and probably the next largest incomes accrue from opium boiling licenses and the monopoly controlling 'ricksha rentals.

Hong Kong, the brightest jewel in Britain's imperial colonial crown, more properly called the Victoria Colony, on the little island at the mouth of the Pearl River, is one of the world's greatest entrepôts—a free port—and has a population of 250,000, only 10,000 of whom are Whites. Here, as in ALL Oriental colonies, there is no opportunity afforded the White laboring man to earn a livelihood. To illustrate by just one example: the Hong Kong Metropolitan Dock Co., has seven docks, and large machine shops; employing in round figures 8000 Chinese. All these are directed and controlled by only half a dozen Caucasians. Most of the steamer lines sailing from the Orient, including the three companies running thence to San Francisco, are manned by Asiatic crews.

These facts I present for the consideration of the laboring men of the United States of America.

In discussing the question of making tropical colonies commercially profitable, and taking the Congo Free State, because of its freedom from national rivalries, as a fair example, Mr. Courtney, President of the Royal Statistical Society of Great Britain, says that nine out of every ten Europeans going to tropical colonies are either buried or return home invalided within three years; that the largest of the 120 Belgian trading companies maintains a service of only seven months out of every twenty-four. Against such a death rate no commercial profits can be shown. The daring colonizers have labored and perished in vain. The trade of the country (Congo Free State) costing so much in life and treasure remains insignificant, being only seven-tenths of one per cent of Belgian commerce. (*The exports of the United States of America to the Philippines are only four one-hundredths of one per cent of our country's total exports.*) The same amount of energy and money spent in the development of industries at home, would have resulted in a far greater development of Belgian commerce, whereas the colonial venture has only proven delusive and disastrous.

In Mexico the topographical structure of the country is such as to divide it naturally into three well-defined altitudinal climatic sections—the first, sea level to about 2500 feet above is known as the *tierra caliente* (hot); the second, 2500 to 5000 feet altitude, the *tierra templada* (temperate), and the third, 5000 feet and upward, the *tierra fria* (cool). The “Tierra Caliente” of Yucatan, Campeachy and Tabasco is the Van Dieman’s land of Mexico, to which, from the cool or temperate upland zones, certain offenders are exiled to eke out their existence—if they can live at all—under the hot, debilitating conditions of an extreme tropical climate. It is a tradition that the sacrifice of human life in the construction of the Panama Railroad across the Isthmus of Darien from Colon or Aspinwall on the Atlantic, to Panama on the Pacific, was equal to a man for every cross tie that lies in the road. And it is to such places, and subject to such climatic conditions that our crusade for Glory, Expansion, “Imperial Democracy,” is exiling the flower of our youth.

According to a San Francisco Journal of February 7th, “The Commanding General of the United States forces now in Cuba, has reported that fifty per cent of the American troops on the Island are on the sick list.”

When the Government of the United States dispatches shipload after shipload of unacclimated young men to the everglades and jungles of tropical swamps, whether in the East Indies or West Indies, it is consigning the flower of American youth to unimaginable suffering and too often, alas! to hapless and inglorious death.

Do you think this is overdrawn? Do you think this is an extreme view of the case? Let me quote a sketch by an eyewitness, a well-known New York writer, of the embarking of sick and wounded soldiers on board a transport hospital ship homeward bound.

“That day strange figures began to mount the sides of the ship, and to occupy its every turn and angle of space. Some of them fell on their knees and slapped the bare deck with their hands, and laughed and cried out, ‘Thank God,

I'll see God's country again!' Some of the men were regulars, bound in bandages; some were volunteers, dirty and hollow-eyed, with long beards on boy's faces. Some came on crutches; others with their arms around the shoulders of their comrades, staring ahead of them with a fixed smile, their lips drawn and their teeth protruding. At every second step they stumbled, and the face of each man was swept by swift ripples of pain. They lay on cots so close together that the nurses could not walk between them. They lay on the wet decks, in the scuppers, and along the skylights and hatches. They were like shipwrecked mariners clinging to a raft, and they asked nothing more than that the ship's bow be turned toward home."

This is Glory—this is Expansion—this is "Imperial Democracy."

But to resume on the subject of Java: The record of mission work is a short one, as after casting out the Portuguese Jesuits, the Dutch forbade others to enter, and all missionaries were strictly excluded until the humanitarian agitation took place in Europe. This resulted in the formal abolition of slavery and the abandonment of the Culture System while it forced the government to do a little for the Christianizing and educating of the natives. The government supports twenty-nine Protestant pastors and ten Roman Catholic priests, primarily for the benefit of European residents, and their sphere of usefulness is restricted; proselyting and sectarian rivalries being forbidden. Missionaries from other countries are not allowed to settle and work among the people. **THE DUTCH DO NOT POSE AS PHILANTHROPISTS NOR PRETEND TO BE IN JAVA FOR THE GOOD OF THE NATIVES. THEIR DOMINION IS ONE OF POWER; THEIR GOVERNMENT, A DESPOTISM.**

A few words on the Culture System, or **ENFORCED LABOR**: The Dutch East India Company acquired control of Java through pioneer preemption, purchase, conquest, strategy and unfair diplomacy. One-fifth of the native's labor and one-fifth of his crops were exacted by the government as ground

rent. Each family was required to keep one thousand coffee trees in bearing condition on village lands, and two-fifths of the crop, clear and sorted, was to be delivered at the government warehouses. As late as 1830 the natives were obliged to plant one-fifth of the village lands in sugar cane and each man had to give one day's labor in seven to cultivating the same. Each native was obliged to plant six hundred Arabian or Mocha coffee trees, keep them in bearing condition and deliver the crop cleaned and sorted at the government warehouses at a price fixed by the Dutch officials. Previous to 1874 nine to twelve guilders per picul (133 lbs.) were paid, although forty to forty-five was the price in open market. (A guilder is equal to 40 cents.) The great double post road from Anger Head to Banyuwangy was constructed at the cost of 20,000 lives, under this system of enforced labor. Laboring men of the northern races never did and never will go there or to other tropical climates, *en masse*, to do the work of the country, agricultural or industrial, there to found permanent homes; and this not merely because the rate of wages in such countries, owing to native competition, is usually low, but because they cannot thrive under the climatic conditions.

Into the despotic clutch of Enforced Labor, or a contract system to exploit humankind in the interest of capital, through oriental conquest, the freedom-loving citizens of the United States are sought to be dragooned under the specious pleas of Glory, Expansion,—“Imperial Democracy.” Will this scheme for the BETRAYAL OF DEMOCRACY succeed? If it does, it will be a crime against the human race.

To neglect the industrial and social conditions at home is to sap the very foundations of national power and progress. The Philippines would add one more problem to political government, one more problem of industrial slavery, one more problem of social barbarism to the list we have already confronting us. There is nothing morally, socially, politically, or industrially in the situation which would make it to the advantage of the United States to annex them. Our duty to mankind is **FIRST OF ALL TO MAINTAIN OUR**

OWN CIVILIZATION, and that is quite enough to tax us to the utmost. James Brice, in HARPER'S MAGAZINE for September, wisely says: "The United States will render a far greater service to humanity by developing a high type of industrial civilization on her own continent, a civilization conspicuously free, enlightened and pacific, than by any foreign conquests."

And what of the subjugated peoples? I extract from the press despatches reporting the battle of February 5th, at Manila :

"The engagement proved a veritable slaughter of Filipinos, thousands of them being killed. General King's brigade charged upon a numerically stronger force of the enemy and drove them yelling, helter-skelter into the Pasig river, where, in a frenzy of terror, they were drowned like rats. The Americans are buoyantly elated over the punishment they have given the treacherous natives."

"The account of 700 Ygorote tribesmen, naked and opposing their bows and arrows to the rifles and cannons of the Americans, in a desperate but hopeless attempt to hold their ground, is wonderfully pathetic. 'On all sides,' says one report, 'were lying dead natives, their bodies, in some instances, being full of bullet holes.' Again: 'I saw a number of bodies which had been literally torn into shreds by the fire from the war-ships. In some places the shells had torn great holes in the earth and around them were scattered dead bodies. On all sides the scene was one of terrible desolation.'"

But the Filipino has a right to be heard! Even in the days of Nero that most despised of all beings, a Christian, had the right of appeal to Cæsar.

The Filipino agents say the Americans placed vessels along the shores of the bay and commenced hostilities unexpectedly at midnight on Saturday, simultaneously bombarding the defenseless towns of Fondo, Malak and Malabon. "The slaughter of women and children was frightful, the Americans burning and devastating all before them, conducting a war of extermination and shooting every Filipino."

Suppose a similar conflict with the so-called "Insurgents" of Cuba and such a wholesale slaughter had been reported from Havana in 1897, as the work of Captain-General Weyler—what would Americans have said? Would they not in holy horror have at once denounced him as a "Butcher?"

"The expansionist clergymen, who have been most enthusiastic about Christianizing and civilizing the natives must concede that it is a pity we are compelled to begin this benign work by shooting the Filipinos full of rifle bullets or blowing them to pieces with shells."

Prospective events and the status existing to February 18th are summarized by one of our morning papers thus: "The arrival of re-enforcements, which is now a matter of daily expectation, would give General Otis the use of flying columns and probably enable him to PACIFY Luzon—and after that the rest of the group in short order."

To which I would remark that "Freedom shrieked when Kosciusko fell", and ORDER reigned in Warsaw—when Poland was PACIFIED!

I will add Rudyard Kipling's words:

" By all ye will or whisper,
By all ye leave or do,
The silent sullen peoples
Shall weigh your God and you."

To return again to Java: The spirit of the age is beginning to reach there, in fact, suggestions for its actual autonomy have been uttered. There are ominous signs everywhere, and the ruling power finds its petty remnant of coffee culture and grocery business a more vexing and difficult venture each year.

Whether, as pessimists foretell, a Mohammedan rebellion shall desolate the island; whether it will remain in Dutch leading strings; arrive at even the limited independence of a British colony, or succumb to Germany's colonial ambitions, (as the French so freely prophesy), Java seems destined soon to

put forth larger claims to the world's attention and occupy for a time at least, a prominent place on its stage of action.

If Americans think or imagine that they would do better than or even as well as the Dutch, English or French, they are mistaken. Let us consider the treatment of the North American Indians. The justice of the United States Government has, as a rule, given way to the clamor of greedy men for possession of their lands, until the Indians are now, with but few exceptions, driven back on to poor, barren reservations, where it would be difficult for skilled white men to make a living. Indeed, the press reports ten thousand of them moving from the United States to Mexico. General Nelson A. Miles, referring to the Indian problem, is reported to have said, "The wrecks of broken promises on the part of the Government are strewn all the way from the Atlantic to the Pacific."

By consulting the pamphlets and leaflets issued by the Gospel Union of the United States on the subject of the "Indians of America," it will be seen that we have not provided for our own. To the case of the Indians may be added the situation or plight of our Negro population. But above and beyond our failure to properly care for these two races within our own confines, police reports and criminal statistics indisputably show that we are not looking after the moral welfare of our own race.

The possibilities of progress in an Oriental people are strikingly illustrated by the achievements of the Japanese within the thirty years that have elapsed since the revolution which resulted in the overthrow of the Shogun or Tycoon power and the adoption of a constitution and the establishment of parliamentary government. After suffering for forty years the grossest injustice in the way of a tariff status practically imposed by Great Britain and the United States, and participated in by other nations, an injustice which was denounced by eminent and rightly inclined Americans, the Japanese, by a long course of insistence, have come at last to the partial attainment of some of the common international rights

of nations, and this fact is really the ground for the present general disparagement of that people by the resident and hitherto specially favored and deferred-to foreigners, whether American, British, French, Dutch, or of any other nationality.

There are no European colonies in Oriental—tropical—lands, in the true and just sense of the word. There are only military settlements and despotic dominion. The exploitations of European colonizing nations have always been and will continue to be for the benefit of the few—the high civil and military officials sent out by the home government and the plantation owners and rich traders—at the expense of the toiling many, the subjugated people, and the common soldiers also, who, in the fulfillment of their mission to terrorize the natives into a state of abject subjugation, fall victims to climatic ills during their enforced stay in a region never intended for the abiding place of the white man; likewise to disease and pernicious practices peculiar to the indolence of Oriental life. But the day, let us hope, is not far distant when other of these Eastern peoples will follow in the footsteps of the erstwhile docile and submissive Japanese, and like them assert their right to take their respective places among the nations of the earth, and to live and RULE in the lands of their ancestors, unmolested by the domineering selfish intervention of the interloping Caucasian.

The press dispatches report President McKinley as saying the Filipinos *must* submit to the authority of the United States government. I do not know that Captain-General Weyler ever demanded more of Cuba for Spain, and this raises not only an ethical question, but a political principle of the most vital import—the inextinguishable love of liberty inherent in the human breast. It not only raises such questions, but it brings to light some of the skeletons of the past, gaunt spectres with gory locks, looking out at us through the mists of memory; long buried ghosts that will not down.

An orthodox clergyman had been in the habit of visiting Old John Brown, of Harper's Ferry, Va., fame, in his prison cell and endeavoring to minister to him the comforts of religion. On one of these occasions he volunteered his services as an attendant on the scaffold. The rugged old hero interposed the question, "Do you believe Slavery is sanctioned by religion?" On being answered in the affirmative, Brown declined to have anything further to do with him as a spiritual adviser, saying that henceforth he could regard him only as a heathen gentleman—not as a Christian.

Whittier has immortalized the incident in verse ;

" John Brown of Ossawatomie spake on his dying day :
 ' I will not have to shrive my soul a priest in slavery's pay
 But let some poor slave-mother whom I have striven to free
 With her children, from the gallows-stair put up a prayer for me.' "

Of events subsequent to the execution, Thoreau said :

" All is quiet at Harper's Ferry, say the journals. What is the character of that calm which follows when the law and the slave holder prevail? *I regard this event as a touchstone designed to bring out with glaring distinctness the character of this government. We needed to be thus assisted to see it by the light of history. It needed to see itself.* When a government puts forth its strength on the side of injustice it reveals itself simply as brute force. It is more manifest than ever that tyranny rules. When you have caught and hung all its human rebels you have accomplished nothing but your own guilt. You have not struck at the fountain head. The same indignation which cleared the temple once will clear it again."

At Atlanta, Ga., recently, the President of the United States, pointing towards Manila, said: "Our flag is there ; who will haul it down?" If Americans of to-day have not become degenerate sons of illustrious sires, but still love freedom and cherish the spirit that animated their forefathers at Independence Hall and Valley Forge, they will see to it that it is hauled

down. The American flag was not unfurled to the world's admiration as the symbol of brute force, but as the emblem of deathless devotion to liberty and light.

“ Flag of the free ! flaunt not the creed
Of men who war for gain or greed ;
For not the victor's symbol thou—
Before which subject races bow,
Thy stars still teach us to aspire.”

“ Oh flag! baptized through thronging years
In fire, in blood, in holy tears—
In freedom's name—for freedom's fame—
By the dear land we love to name—
Thy glory shall not be our shame.”

LIVERMORE, CAL., February 24, 1899.

MR. JOHN J. VALENTINE,
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir :—Allow me, though not having the honor of knowing you personally, to address a few lines to you.

I want to express my admiration of the interesting lecture delivered by you on "Imperial Democracy" [Dutch Colonizers in Malaysia], of which I read a resumé in last night's "*Bulletin*."

Being born and raised in Holland, where eight years ago I graduated as a physician at the University of Leiden, I claim to be a good and competent judge of one of the most striking features of your lecture, viz: the disastrous effect of a tropical climate on the white race.

As a physician I could corroborate you by my own experience in the years I was a student at Leiden, where existed also a college for the education of officers for our colonies in the Dutch East Indies.

How many of my friends at that University, splendid specimens of manhood, the flower of the country, the pride of their parents and professors, with a brilliant future before them, favored by the most auspicious official positions in the gift of the Colonial Government, came back after a lapse of five years from our "Insulinde" as mere wrecks, broken down in health, ruined for life and many times victims of the accursed morphine habit!

I could write about many, many girls in Holland, who strong, healthy and beautiful, left for Java to join their future husbands, and after two or three years of life under the Equator, came home weak, debilitated and suffering from the bad effects that a tropical climate can cause on members of the fair sex. In the Dutch East Indies Europeans only survive to the second generation. A third generation is unknown.

A common saying in Holland is, "If you had murdered your father and mother you are yet too good to be sent to the East Indies."

But I don't want to take too much of your valuable time. I conclude with the fervent hope that your efforts and those of many others, all over this grand and liberty-loving country, to stir up the people, will check the imperial aspirations of my adopted country, and that the eyes of our government in Washington will be opened in time to see the abyss threatening.

Very respectfully yours,

JOS. M. BENKERS, M. D.

“IMPERIAL DEMOCRACY.”

ANNEXATION OF THE PHILIPPINES.

INTRODUCTION.

It is the fad of the hour to condemn Spain and everything Spanish in season and out of season. Before Peter was summoned to Joppa to minister to the Centurion Cornelius, an object lesson was presented to him out of Heaven in order to overcome certain of his race prejudices—he saw a vision, the moral of which, as told by a supernatural voice, was sufficient intimation to him that such discrimination was reprehensible. Shakespeare, in “As You Like It,” makes Orlando say that he will chide no breather in the world, save himself, of whom he knew most faults. I have journeyed much and in many lands, and can truthfully say that, so far as I have met them, I have never known more worthy gentlemen or more admirable women than the Spaniards, Mexicans, and descendants of those who originally colonized California, and I am proud to believe that I can number amongst these good people hosts of whole-hearted, chivalrous friends. As to the place of the Spanish-American people in the history of America, I am in accord with Mr. Chas. F. Lummis’s views as expressed in his charming book, “The Awakening of a Nation,”—Mexico. Mr. Lummis says :

“The seal of Spain is upon all things that she has ever touched. To the thoughtful, few side-lights in history are

more striking than this vital individuality of the Spaniard. Whatever page he opened in the New World, he wrote across it his racial autograph in a hand so virile and so characteristic that neither time nor change can efface it. Three centuries and a half of continuous evolution have not availed to make that rubric illegible or mistakable. He mastered every country between us and Patagonia ; and there is no land in which he ever sat down which does not to this last day bear in its very marrow the heritage of his religion, his language, and his social creed. His *Marca* is upon the faces, the laws, the very landscapes.

“How significant this is we may better judge when we remember that the Saxon, masterful though he is, has never anywhere achieved these results. He has filled new lands with his speech and his faith (or his lack of it), but only by filling them with his own blood—(or that of his victims) never by changing the native. The United States, for instance, is of his speech ; but what Indian tribe ever spoke English? In the vastly greater area of Spanish-America every Indian tribe speaks Spanish, and has done so for centuries. The Saxon has never impressed his language or his religion upon the people he has overrun. Something of his face goes to the half-breeds he begets and will not father ; but even this physical impress is less marked than in the case of his Latin predecessor ; for he himself, of course, is a less fixed type.”

Of the 14 million of population in Mexico, the masses to the number of 10 million are chiefly Indian, and the presence in their daily life of the most attractive qualities of human kind are notable. Let me here apply some words of Mr. Hopkinson Smith, in the “White Umbrella in Mexico:”

“A distinct and peculiar people. An unselfish, patient, tender-hearted people, of great personal beauty, courage and refinement. A people offering instantly to the stranger and wayfarer on the very threshold of their homes a hospitality so

generous, accompanied by a courtesy so exquisite, that one stops at the next doorway to re-enjoy the luxury."

"My memory went back to my three friends of the morning, standing in the sunlight, their sombreros in the dust; to the garrulous old gardener bending over his flowers; to the girl selling pottery; to the tender courtesy and gentleness of these people, their unchanging serenity of temper, their marvelous patience, their innate taste, skill, etc."

At the beginning of the war craze in the United States, Prof. Morse of Massachusetts, one of the most distinguished evolutionists among American scientific men, made the following observation upon the midsummer madness of the American people:

"It has taken our race a million years to climb up from the beast to the man; it takes just fifteen minutes for a man to go back to the beast again."

On my return trip in June last from the Orient, whither I had gone before war was declared, I wrote from on board the steamer *Coptic* as follows:

"Tuesday, June 23d.—Last night at 1:30 A. M., I was awakened by three sharp blasts of our ship's whistle saluting the passing transports to Manila. Alas! alas! and alas!—enthusiasm now, but later on sickness, suffering, misery, squalid death under the pitiless sun of a tropical sky in an alien land. And later on for those who remain at home, taxes! taxes! taxes! Such is the glory and the cost of war. When all the burdens of it are settled on the backs of the people, then look out for political and social revolutions at home. As the war has been repeatedly referred to by my correspondents, I will say I'm no Jingo; don't believe in the doctrines of island expansion, annexation or conquest, but fear that the American people are lending a willing ear to the suggestions of pride, ambition and avarice, rather than to the sober and wholesome dictates of wisdom, prudence and justice. Spain's colonies have ruined her."

The events affecting this question have confirmed and intensified my opposition to the policy pursued by the United States government during the past twelve months. I have never believed that the war was necessary, and my convictions have been strengthened by the averment of Mr. John Sherman, Secretary of State up to less than a year ago, who is responsible for the disclosure, since his retirement, that the State Department had, prior to the declaration of war, reached a point in diplomatic negotiations with Spain at which the latter expressed a readiness to part with Cuba for 200 million dollars. I am further confirmed therein by the statement of General Woodford, the then Minister to Spain, who is credited with saying substantially as follows:

That when in Madrid conducting negotiations he had progressed to a point at which Spain conceded every demand we made, and that when the government of Spain drafted the scheme of autonomy to be put in force in Cuba, it comprehended therein all we had demanded; and that if the Congress of the United States had let the question alone, he believed would have established a stable government in the isle of Cuba, and that within from three to six months thereafter the flag of Spain would have peaceably come down.

Thus verifying the saying of Euripides, that—

* * * “the force of words
Can do whate'er is done by conquering swords.”

This, however, seems like generalizing; therefore let me be specific:

FIRST—Spain had never infringed or encroached upon any American rights. On the contrary, she had at all times exhibited the utmost deference and courtesy toward the United States; she had yielded to our every demand.

SECOND—The Spanish government had released all Americans caught in the act of aiding the Cuban insurgents, though under the operation of martial law such persons were punishable by death.

THIRD—The cruel Weyler had been recalled, and in his stead the merciful Blanco had been appointed Governor-General.

FOURTH—Autonomy, or home rule—self-government—had been granted to Cuba, and a Cuban Legislature had been elected.

FIFTH—The Spanish government had stopped the war by the declaration of an armistice in accordance with the request of President McKinley.

SIXTH—The reconcentrados had received permission to return to their homes.

SEVENTH—The Spanish government had appropriated funds for the relief of the reconcentrados.

EIGHTH—Permission had been given to the Americans to feed the reconcentrados.

It was said we could no more have averted the war than we could stay the progress of Muir Glacier. That is the unspeakably sad part of it. Marcus Aurelius saw the decadence of Rome, but was powerless to prevent it. New York harbor has Bartholdi's statue "Liberty Enlightening the World." Are we engaged in that ennobling work by rivaling the Romans in a policy of conquest and dominion?

The most cherished political principles of the past—all those contained in the Declaration of Independence—held by the Democratic-Republican parties of the United States, for example, that all men are born equal and endowed with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that all just government derives its power from the consent of the governed; and the sacred doctrine of the universal Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of man, are being trampled under foot in the sanguinary rush toward—Glory—Expansion—"Imperial Democracy."

Advocates of island expansion constantly refer to the acquisition by the United States of Florida, the Louisiana Territory, Texas, Arizona, and California as precedents for taking the Philippines. There is no analogy whatever between these cases and the proposed annex-

ation of the Philippine or other tropical islands. These were natural acquisitions of simply unoccupied wilds of contiguous territories suitable for settlement by the Caucasian race. In this vast stretch of wilderness there was at no time an average of one man of any race to every ten square miles, and now, 300 years after our first colonies were founded, we have in the whole United States only twenty-two people to the square mile, while in the Philippines, 7000 miles distant, there are sixty-six people to the square mile, and people too who have occupied the land for countless generations, aye, even for ages long gone and forgotten.

The policy of the present United States Congress and the Executive Administration may be summed up as having shown four stages of progressive development:

First—Yellow Journalism and hysteria.

Second—Revenge and elemental ferocity.

Third—Militarism and pride of power.

Fourth—Ambition, greed and ignorance.

At the meeting of the International Bar Association, a year or two ago, Judge Storey made some pertinent remarks to the effect that while the United States could endure short crops, depressed business, hard times and domestic friction, it would be hardest for it to bear success in a foreign war; and this has come true.

The good feeling between Great Britain and the United States is something I have always believed in and sought to promote, and without doubt England rendered the United States Government an important service last year; yet it does not appear to me that it is any part of the duty or to the advantage of our Government to take a position in the Orient that might require us to act as her military ally in matters which are of no interest to the mass of our people.

I do not believe that we are under any responsibility whatever in respect to the Philippines. Although technically included in Oceanica, the Philippines properly belong to

Asia, and could never be naturally integrated with the American Republic. Because the necessities of war resulted in the destruction of the Spanish fleets lying in Manila Bay and at Santiago, does it follow, any more than it would had they been in one of Spain's home ports, and our flag raised over Cadiz, that we should take and hold Spain? Shall we renounce our professions and our hallowed traditions and give vent to latent predatory instincts, or shall we be true to the principles of our honored sires, as the defenders and upholders of the interests of humanity? We are not obligated to govern the Filipinos in any manner or form. Let them look out for themselves—work out their own salvation, in fear and trembling if necessary. Give them a chance to try to walk before saying they cannot. The fact that we have bargained for 10,000,000 people at \$2 per head, with a seller who cannot deliver the goods, is no valid and sufficient reason for undermining and overthrowing our own form of government. A despotism like that in Java, or the bald exploitation of labor in the interest of capital, as in Hawaii, would be a departure from the spirit of our institutions so radical that if successful it would mean the overthrow of democracy in the United States. Let the poor and all men who earn their bread by the labor of their hands pause and consider well before they give their assent to a policy so deliberately forgetful of the equality of rights. As for so-called "Imperial Democracy," it is only a thinly disguised scheme to destroy American Democracy in the interests of what? Worse than nothing! Merely to attract the notice of monarchical Europe and the plaudits of the unthinking,—or, I repeat, to exploit Asiatic coolies in the interest of capital at the expense of American labor. I lack words to express my scorn for it. In the language of Bourke Cockran, "it is an effort on the part of this country to join in the groveling, grabbing, degrading contest of the family of nations, a contest that has always filled the world with woe and impeded human thought and human progress."

I realize that the United States can adopt Imperialism—imperial liberty, as it is jauntily called—and engage in a policy of conquering and to conquer for awhile; but would it be representative government? NO! The Queen of the Antilles, Porto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines. What an alluring seductive vision of territorial Expansion! What intoxicating suggestion of tropical felicities: the hula hula—la media noche—Tannhauser and Pleasure: from Plymouth Rock to Manila!

We know what has taken place in darkest South—the Carolinas, Mississippi, and Louisiana; the colored vote has simply been suppressed,—that is the plain English of it. What is worse, the Republican organs of the country are acquiescing in it, as being the only practical way out of that perplexing and harrassing problem of more than thirty years' duration. Yet the Negroes of the South are only as one to ten of population in the United States and have enjoyed close relations with the Whites for four or five generations, one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty years.

With a country that turns out thirty criminals and suffers twenty violent deaths (an average of over 15,000 for three years past) to one for Great Britain, we certainly are not in a position to start out on propogandas of altruism. And for outrages on public highways—land piracies—we out-rival the whole world—one hundred and twenty-five trains dynamited in ten years past! As for administrative plunderings it costs five times as much per capita for municipal administration in San Francisco as it does in Birmingham or Glasgow. This degeneration is demoralizing the whole body politic, yet seemingly is not enough. We scour the seas for other distracting problems. I believe that we will do better for mankind and for ourselves by cultivating more peaceful methods, more Christian characteristics at home.

“Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people.”

For Land Piracies
in United States
See page 53.

To say nothing of the opinions of Imperialism expressed in the declaration of the President of the United States that "Territorial conquest would be criminal aggression," and of the Congress of the United States that "Any disposition or intention to exercise any sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said islands except for the pacification thereof, is disclaimed," the mere *idea* of conquest, race subjugation, and colonial responsibility should be abhorrent to an American. Senator Gray of Delaware, one of the Peace Commissioners to Paris, pleaded zealously against the policy of acquiring the Philippines as unpatriotic, un-American, and inconsistent with probity and good statesmanship. The Supreme Court of the United States, December, 1856, declared, "There is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the Federal Government to establish or maintain colonies bordering on the United States, or at distances, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure. No power is given to acquire a territory to be held and governed permanently in that character." Now the current laws of the United States will not permit us to make citizens of the ten millions of Asiatics in the Philippine Islands. In 1879 the vote of California on Chinese immigration was 154,638 against, to 883 for. Ten years ago Congress precipitously passed a law prohibiting even the voluntary immigration of Chinese to this country, for the sole purpose of suppressing in the United States a system of cheap contract labor. On the Scott Bill for Chinese exclusion the U. S. Senate voted, September 7, 1888, 37 yeas, *only* 3 nays. So late as 1892, on the Geary Exclusion Act, Congress voted in the House 178 for, only 43 against. Despite this we have annexed the Hawaiian Islands, a territory in which cheap contract labor is the dominating characteristic of the laboring population—so dominating, so overwhelming as to seem to our Commissioners a necessity to the industry of those islands,—and now it is proposed to add 10 million Filipinos.

“ The Anglo-Saxon in America has never shown a disposition to ally himself with the aborigines,—has evinced no faculty for dealing with inferior races, as they are called, except through a process of extermination. From the earliest days at Wessagusset and in the Pequod war, down to the very last election held in North Carolina—from 1623 to 1898—the knife and the shotgun have been far more potent and active instruments in his dealings with the inferior races than the code of liberty or the output of the Bible Society.”

Nor is the policy of island expansion or Imperialism justifiable or defensible from even a merely mercenary point of view. In the past six years England’s trade has not appreciably increased, while that of the United States has, and within the six years mentioned, some 15 to 20 per cent.

What does this mean? It means that, as proved by the United States and Germany, colonies are not necessary for the expansion of trade; and as proved by Great Britain, colonies do not protect a nation against loss of trade. Every well informed man knows that the leading British statesmen of this generation have called the attention of their people to the burdens of colonial administration—Lord Charles Beresford to the contrary notwithstanding. The noble Lord’s mission may be summed up thus:

“ ‘ Will you walk into my parlor? ’ said the spider to the fly,
 ‘ ‘ Tis the prettiest little parlor that ever you did spy. ’ ”

Moreover the alleged fitness of the British for such service has been attained by hundreds of years of experience. If Americans have ever displayed any ability in this line I am not aware of it.

I have said that colonies have ruined Spain. In the report just made by Mr. Peletan to the French Chamber of Deputies, he said that France spent 80 millions of dollars annually on colonies. What benefit, he demanded, did France reap from those 80 millions—or rather 90, for the estimates

were always exceeded? In 1897 French exports to the colonies amounted to 118 millions, and, assuming the profit to be 20 per cent, the cost price was 95 millions. This gave a net loss of about 60 millions. He was aware that the West Africa colonies were remunerative but why embark in adventures in which there was nothing to be gained? This system of conquests at a certain loss was an absurdity unprecedented in history. Never before had a nation expended 60 million dollars and many lives for the singular advantage of ruling by force over distant populations. The root of the evil is that there is no colonization, but only military occupation; and conflicts between the colonists and the military authorities have been of constant occurrence.

As to our exports to the Philippines, they are too insignificant to be thought of, having averaged less than 130 thousand dollars for eighteen years—1880 to 1897, inclusive; and the amount for the last year, according to the published official record of the Treasury Department, was only 127 thousand dollars and the average for five years past has been only 4-100 of 1 per cent of total exports. If we need the Philippines and a navy to maintain the prestige of our commerce there, as alleged statesmen tell us, how many islands, and how large a navy do we need to maintain the prestige of our commerce with the United Kingdom of Great Britain, etc., and Continental Europe? To the latter countries the United States, without either islands or navy, exported during the fiscal year 1897, more than 7700 times as much as to the Philippines, and 22 times as much as to the entire Orient; and our exports to the Orient consist more largely of the precious metals than of produce or manufactures. Manifestly we need Ireland, the Azores, Guernsey, Heligoland, etc.

But further considering the purely sordid and mercenary view; whence is to come our profit from Expansion to and Imperialism in the Philippine Islands? From what source are the refulgent rays of glory to emanate? If, as said in the United States Senate by the Hon. William Mason, of Illinois, there were only something to steal we might give ourselves

over to the alluring, seductive worship of the Almighty Dollar. But the whole group would be of no more commercial value to the United States than the smallest island suitable for a coaling and naval station. We could not possibly enjoy a monopoly of trade with the Islands, and the supposed point of vantage in the Philippines (7000 miles from home to begin with) as a distributing center for our trade with the Orient is not discernible.

Hong Kong, the southernmost English trade center for China, is 650 miles northwest of Manila. Shanghai is 800 miles north of Hong Kong; Hankow is 800 miles west of Shanghai, and Chefu,—Wei-hai-Wei,—on the Shantung Peninsula, the last station taken by Great Britain to insure communication with the north central portion of China, reached from the Gulf of Pechili, is also 800 miles north of Shanghai. From this it will be seen that the Philippines, where our Glory, our Expansion and our Militarism are to shine with such brilliant lustre, are 2300 miles distant from the northern commercial centers of China, and therefore are futile as a point of vantage. Manifestly what we need in the Orient is Corea! Why not take that so as be fully "in the swim" with Russia and Great Britain?

Commercial growth, let it not be overlooked, does not at all depend upon territorial or colonial expansion. We have had the greater part of the trade of Hawaii, yet did not own the Islands, and Great Britain enjoys the larger part of the trade of the Philippines, yet does not own them. Great Britain probably controls eighty per cent of the foreign trade of China, not because she has colonies, but because her people have so far been the best traders in the world—excepting the Dutch, for the same reason she carries in British bottoms nearly all the foreign tonnage out of our own port of San Francisco.

The following tables respecting Foreign Commerce of the United States, including that with Oceanica and the Philippines, will be of interest to all those of a statistical turn of mind:

A SUMMARY STATEMENT

Of the Foreign Commerce of the United States for the five years from 1893 to 1897, both inclusive, showing the imports, exports and total Commerce for each division and their respective trade balances; also the annual averages of the same, and the percentage of each:

COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTAL COMMERCE.	BALANCES.		NET BALANCE.
				FAVORABLE.	ADVERSE.	
Europe	\$ 1,986,065,097	\$ 3,477,204,621	\$ 5,463,269,718	\$ 1,491,199,524	.....	.....
North America	717,412,132	589,583,652	1,306,995,784	.....	\$ 127,828,480	.....
South America	530,739,909	169,443,639	700,183,548	.....	361,296,270	.....
Asia	408,324,122	119,325,106	527,649,228	.....	288,399,016	.....
Oceania	113,921,334	76,072,892	189,994,226	.....	37,848,442	.....
Africa	35,748,231	47,322,068	83,070,299	.....	.....	.....
All others	5,669,770	1,992,447	7,662,217	.....	3,677,323	.....
	\$ 3,797,820,595	\$ 4,480,944,425	\$ 8,278,765,020	\$ 1,502,773,361	\$ 819,649,531	\$ 688,123,830

ANNUAL AVERAGES.

COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	PER CENT.	EXPORTS.	PER CENT.	TOTALS.	PER CENT.
Europe	\$ 397,201,019	52.0	\$ 695,440,924	77.6	\$ 1,092,641,944	64.9
North America	143,482,426	19.0	117,916,720	13.2	261,399,157	16.1
South America	106,107,982	14.1	33,888,728	3.8	140,036,720	9.0
Asia	81,664,814	10.8	23,865,021	2.6	105,529,845	6.7
Oceania	26,384,267	3.0	15,214,578	1.7	37,998,845	2.3
Africa	7,149,646	0.9	9,464,414	1.0	16,614,060	0.9
All others	1,133,955	0.2	398,499	0.1	1,532,443	0.1
	\$ 759,564,119	100.0	\$ 896,188,885	100.0	\$ 1,655,753,004	100.0

A SUMMARY STATEMENT

Of the Commerce of the United States with ASIA and OCEANICA for the five years from 1893 to 1897, both inclusive, showing imports, exports and total Commerce. Also, their respective trade balances and the *percentage* of each on the total Commerce.

COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTALS.	ADVERSE BALANCES.
China (inc. Hong Kong)	\$105,634,289	\$ 53,643,813	\$161,278,107	\$ 49,990,471
Japan	120,124,493	32,762,179	152,886,672	87,361,314
British India	103,001,908	15,403,083	121,407,991	84,595,835
Dutch East Indies	58,161,487	7,734,221	65,895,708	59,437,266
Turkey in Asia	16,303,353	481,331	16,789,684	15,817,022
Russia "	1,726,478	1,436,327	3,222,805	230,151
All other countries	3,373,114	2,806,147	6,379,261	366,967
Totals	\$408,324,122	\$119,225,166	\$527,649,228	.....
Per Annum	81,664,824	23,865,021	105,529,845	\$288,99,016
Per Cent	10.8%	2.6%	6.7%	.....

OCEANICA.

COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTAL.	FAVORABLE BALANCE.	ADVERSE BALANCES.	NET ADVERSE BALANCE.
Australasia	\$ 29,384,064	\$ 55,275,792	\$ 84,659,856	\$ 25,891,728	.....	.....
Hawaiian Islands	52,545,548	18,532,639	71,079,237	.....	\$ 34,013,859	.....
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS	32,266,162	676,142	30,942,304	.....	29,530,020	.....
All others	1,719,966	1,588,269	3,308,235	.....	131,697	.....
Totals	\$113,916,740	\$ 76,072,892	\$189,989,632	\$ 25,891,728	\$ 63,735,576	\$ 37,843,848
Total Asia and Oceania	\$522,240,862	\$195,337,998	\$717,638,860	.....	.....	\$ 326,842,864

OCEANICA.—Annual averages of imports and exports, and *percentage* of same on total commerce.

COUNTRIES.	IMPORTS.	PER CENT.	EXPORTS.	PER CENT.	TOTAL.	PER FAVORABLE BALANCE.	PER CENT.	ADVERSE BALANCES.	NET ADVERSE BALANCE.
Australasia	\$ 5,876,815	0.77	\$11,053,158	1.23	\$16,931,971	\$ 5,178,325	1.00	.....	.....
Hawaiian Islands	10,509,306	1.50	3,706,538	0.40	14,215,847	.....	0.86	\$ 6,802,772	.....
Philippine Islands	6,053,234	0.80	135,228	0.04	6,188,461	.....	0.37	5,918,004	.....
All others	343,935	0.04	317,654	0.35	661,647	.....	.....	26,333	.....
Totals	\$22,783,350	3.0%	\$15,217,578	1.5%	\$17,997,926	\$ 5,178,325	2.7%	\$13,747,115	\$ 7,568,739

To the advocates of Expansion and Imperialism who indulge in the delusion that a mere change in the suzerainty of the colonial possessions of Spain will cause the movements of commerce to change their natural channels and seek other markets regardless of the laws of consumption, we commend a study of the object-lesson presented by the tabular statement found below.

It is a simple statement, compiled from the Statesman's Year Book of the foreign commerce of the four greatest colonial nations, for the past decade, divided into two quinquennial periods compared with each other, and also compared with similar periods of the commerce of the United States, destitute, as it is, of colonies and so poorly off in tonnage that 82 per cent of its own exported products have to be carried in foreign bottoms.

It will be observed that during the latter period of five years as compared with the preceding one, these four colonial nations have lost over 1500 million dollars of their export trade while the United States, without colonies and with a very limited tonnage, has increased its export trade with foreign markets over 270 million dollars. But the most remarkable experience is shown, where we should least expect it, in the colonial commerce of the United Kingdom.

It is the boast of this little Kingdom, comprising less than 122,000 square miles and 40,000,000 people, that the sun never sets upon her domain, as by means of her "Colonies," "Protectorates," and "Spheres of Influence" she practically controls 22 per cent of the entire area of the globe, and 400,000,000 of its peoples or 27 per cent of the population of the world, and owns, besides, 55 per cent of its carrying tonnage. And yet, notwithstanding these signal advantages, it appears that while she sustained a loss of over 566 million dollars or 7½ per cent of her export trade, the loss of her exports to her own colonies exceeded 200 million or over 10 per cent. This should afford conclusive evidence to every reflecting mind that the commerce of the world has inexorable laws of its own that are not to be controlled or affected by ill-advised chauvinism or popular claptrap.

	IMPORTS.	EXPORTS.	TOTALS.
Great Britain			
1888-92...	£ 2,095,200,481	£ 1,543,676,222	£ 3,638,876,703
1893-97...	2,122,769,841	1,427,319,398	3,550,089,239
Germany			
1887-91...	Mks. 25,683,053,000	Mks. 22,635,533,000	Mks. 48,318,586,000
1892-96...	21,450,669,600	19,624,044,000	41,074,713,000
France			
1887-91...	Fcs. 26,840,000,000	Fcs. 22,909,000,000	Fcs. 49,749,000,000
1892-96...	24,731,000,000	22,185,000,000	46,916,000,000
Spain			
1888-92...	Pesetas 4,293,802,967	Pesetas 4,193,023,244	Pesetas 8,486,826,211
1893-97...	3,640,635,455	3,699,739,635	7,340,375,120
Br. Colonies			
1887-91...	£ 463,606,406	£ 415,679,788	£ 879,286,194
1892-96...	471,786,163	373,619,786	845,405,949
United States			
1888-92...	\$3,930,717,830	\$4,210,943,524	\$8,141,661,354
1893-97...	3,797,820,595	4,480,944,425	8,278,765,020

Great Britain, Loss of Export Trade.	£ 116,356,824 =	\$566,657,732 =	7.53%
Germany, " " "	Mks. 3,011,489,000 =	\$716,734,382 =	13.61%
France, " " "	Fcs. 723,000,000 =	\$139,732,000 =	5.25%
Spain, " " "	Ps. 493,283,609 =	\$ 95,003,736 =	11.76%
British Colonies " " "	£ 42,060,002 =	\$204,832,209 =	10.12%

*Total Loss (exclusive of British Colonies).....\$1,518,127,850

United States, INCREASE Total Gain.....\$ 270,000,901 = 6.41%

The Domestic Exports from the United States to the world at large for the year 1898 were 1281 million dollars; to the Philippines for the year ending June 30, 1898, 127 thousand dollars—or less than 1-100 of one per cent. It is curious there should be so much noise over a crate of goods to the Philippines as compared to a shipload to Great Britain or Continental Europe.

The cant that "trade follows the flag" is as shallow sophistry as the designing claptrap that "free silver would bring prosperity." Trade is determined by fitness, price and transportation, all of which may be summed up in the one word, PRICE. It is asserted that "trade follows the flag," and that, as respects dependencies, at least, the "open door"

*The footing of \$1,518,127,850 does not include the item of British Colonies, \$204,832,209.

policy is the best policy. If "trade follows the flag" in dependencies, and, by so doing, affords the American producer all needful PROTECTION and every fair advantage in those dependencies, it is not at once apparent why it fails so to do at home.

It may not be out of place here to say that at the rate we are traveling in quest of imperial splendor, the year '99 will probably show for administering the affairs of the Government a budget in excess of that of any nation in the world; and that the combined outlay for pensions, army and navy, will alone approximate or exceed *three hundred and fifty millions of dollars*. Now, thirty-three years after the Civil War, we have a pension roll of very nearly one million names. And still they come. We paid to pensioners last year over 145 million dollars, a sum larger than the annual cost of the whole military peace establishment of the German Empire, including its pension roll.

But there are questions in life that refuse to be settled by equations.

"Blot out the huckstering tale of gain or loss ;
Behold the LEADER of a vanquished Cause,
HIS arms extended on the bitter Cross."

A sophistry of the Spanish war craze is to the effect that the added responsibilities imposed upon the American people by the administration of government in foreign lands, over conquered and subjugated alien peoples, would develop a scope of mental and moral vision so broad as to beget a nobler and more exalted sense of the obligations devolving upon our people as members of a World Power.

Any one at all familiar with the administration of colonial affairs in Africa, Asia or Malaysia well knows the fallacy of

this theory. In view of the character and repute of the political jobbers who, according to the public press, largely influence the government of this country, it would be just as consistent to argue that a confirmed roué, acknowledging, yet violating his conjugal obligations, would have his moral vision purified and his mental horizon extended by being provided with a harem.

If this view of the case is questioned I offer these extracts from five letters recently received from Manila, written by different correspondents connected with the army. One of the writers expresses himself as follows :

“If interest in our home country, if our desire to steer clear of international and internecine complications are the main factors to be considered, then don't hold the islands. The majority of Spaniards, at least here, are willing, and I might say anxious, for us to take charge of the islands, but it were much better if politics in our own country were greatly improved before we create larger fields for politicians to feed in. Besides this our army officials should be taught not to rob and neglect American soldiers before they are given charge of a foreign, ignorant and helpless people.”

“The only ‘imperialists,’” says another, “in all the American forces now in these islands are to be found among the temporary government appointees, who see coming within their grasp large fat official plums, and a large percentage of the well-paid army officers, surrounded by their large retinue of cheap servants, a la ante-bellum days in the South.”

A third says : “Prior to the advent of the Americans there were but two saloons on the Escolta, the principal business street, a quarter of a mile long, whereas now there are eighteen. In the city there are now 300 places where liquors are sold. The income of the largest, the “Alhambra,” is said to be \$700 nightly. Already the street cars are topped with large signs detailing the exquisite qualities of certain whiskies, and a quarter of the space in the newspapers printed in English is devoted to beer advertisements, while the largest drug store has a whole column of liquor announcements to the exclusion of any mention of medicines.”

Another writes he has just established a gambling shop, making \$287 in one week.

The fifth writes:

“The young man that looks upon the Philippines as an Eldorado, who thinks life will be easier there, that a living will come without effort, I say to him cordially, go, hasten by first steamer, your country does not need nor want such as you; it is a good place for you. To the serious, thinking man to whom life is something more than bed and board; don't go, you are leaving an Eden behind you, and will find but a moral cess-pool awaiting you. If your own country is not large enough for you, it is doubtless your own, not your country's fault.

“The young man willing to work is debarred from exhibiting much energy by climatic conditions. The only hard workers are the Chinese, and they also control nearly all of the better class of retail trade and a large part of the banking business. The bodily frame of the majority of our men is not sufficiently immune from malaria and kindred ills to permit of a residence in the Island.

“Moral suicide awaits nine out of every ten young men, who, lacking the elements of Christian training and influence, visit the far East. The morality of the treaty ports from Yokohama to Suez presents a darker picture than the slums of Europe can offer. There temptation is all but overpowering; it stalks on the streets, is registered at the hotels, and put-up at the social clubs. Its representatives are prowling into Manila from Hong Kong and Singapore. November and December last witnessed a veritable Klondykan rush to the former Spanish capital. As a result, Manila is becoming a den of vice. The Escolta, the leading street, is facetiously referred to as the “Yankee beer chute,” resembles somewhat a midway, and is all but literally lined with saloons. I counted four hundred in a little over a mile. These are mostly kept by Americans. The largest cafe, known as the Alhambra, has frequently closed its bar at four in the afternoon because its stock of liquor was exhausted.

Do the Filipinos form the larger complement of their patrons? Not at all, our own boys are their customers, and many of them boys, who prior to their arrival at Manila, had not, I venture to say, ever touched a glass of intoxicating liquor.

“The young man without capital has no business in these islands. Until order is brought out of chaos, the situation becomes more stable, the clouds lift, and the necessity of maintaining a large force to hold in check the native population, the best place for our young men is at home, and even under the most favorable conditions had I a son, I would feel somewhat as though I was consigning him to almost certain destruction did I permit him to take up residence in the Orient, when necessity did not compel his passing beyond our shores.”

From this and the fact that 1100 coffins have been ordered from a lumber establishment in San Francisco, doubters will see that *increased* consumption does enliven business at Manila. This is Glory—this is Expansion—this is “Imperial Democracy!”

Permit me to call the attention of the expansionist clergy, those who seem to think that latter day ideas of political liberty and the Protestant religion can, by quick-firing cannon and Krag-Jorgeson rifles, be shot into struggling peoples aspiring to freedom, to the pictures here presented of the refining and elevating influences that are reaching Manila through the medium of war. Yet these gentlemen tell us that we are going abroad in the interests of Christian civilization.

“Ah, there is Woe when war's red banners rise,
“Woe when rapine's flames mount to the scrowling skies.”

The truth is that the moral progress made in Oriental colonies has been a reflex of the moral advance of the Home Government—not an expanded moral sense on the part of the exploiters, e. g., witness the arraignment, though futile, of Lord Clive and Warren Hastings. Nor have we to go abroad or delve into the past for examples of official wrongdoing. Apart from corruption in our municipal, state and national government, the army has been, in the brief interval

of the past year, fruitful of cases, of venality and insubordination. And the more Islands we plunder the more corruption we shall suffer at home.

In the appendix to Pope's translation of the *Odyssey* appears a Greek composition entitled "A Prayer to Apollo," wherein is recited the jealousy of Juno at what she deems the slights of Jove, and because of which she proposes to bring forth of her own volition and power a son that shall surpass all other men. The fruit of this abnormal conception was a monster called Typhon, whom Juno entrusted for rearing to a dragoness on earth, and the two were prolific sources of woe to the sons of men—relentless creatures who, as the author relates :

"Did oppress

" With many a misery to maintain the excess

" Of that inhuman monster, all the race

" Of men that were of all the world the grace."

"Imperial Democracy," as the outcome of righteous democratic republican government would be a prodigy as evil and pernicious as the misbegotten whelp of Juno.

Is this revolting? If so, take heed of the following: On November 22, 1898, Hon. C. A. Sulloway, a member of the U. S. Congress from New Hampshire, said: "China is succumbing to the inevitable, and the United States, if she would not retire to the background, must advance along the line with the other great nations. She must acquire new territory, providing new markets over which she must maintain control. The Anglo-Saxon advances into the new regions with a Bible in one hand and a shotgun in the other. The inhabitants of those regions that he cannot convert with the aid of the Bible and bring into his markets, he gets rid of with the shotgun. It is but another demonstration of the survival of the fittest." This is Science and Materialism gone mad.

In other words, like a jackal, we select a point of vantage and watch the dismemberment of a carcass by lions awaiting our opportunity to seize a few fragments.

In the language of a British statesman, uttered in an hour of stress:

"Come the eleventh plague rather than this should be;
 Come sink us rather in the sea;
 Come, rather, pestilence, and reap us down;
 Come God's sword, rather than our own.
 Let rather Roman come again,
 Or Saxon, Norman, or the Dane.
 In all the bonds we ever bore,
 We grieved, we sighed, we wept; —WE NEVER BLESSIED BEFORE." *

However, my opposition is not based upon commercial, constitutional, legal, or technical grounds alone, but also upon the doctrine of *human rights*, and *common sense*. The assumed analogy between England and America is a fallacy, and strikes at the very root of our governmental foundations. England's institutions have been formed on the doctrine of *inequality* (as are those of all Monarchical Governments); America's on the declared principle of equality before the law. It may without exaggeration be said of the North American people that, from the beginning down to this year just ended, its development has been one long protest against, and divergence from, Old World methods and ideals. Referring to the denial of his "inalienable rights" to the African, Thomas Jefferson declared: "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just." And Abraham Lincoln said, "The assertion that all men are created equal was of no practical use in effecting our separation from Great Britain, and it was placed in the Declaration, not for that, but for future use. Its author meant it to be, as, thank God, it is now proving itself, a stumbling block to all those who, in after times, might seek to turn a free people back into the paths of despotism. *They knew the proneness of prosperity to breed tyrants, and they meant, when such should reappear in this fair land, and commence their vocation, they should find left for them at least one hard nut to crack.*"

If we are now to abandon the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States and American Democracy for British Imperialism it is meet and right that

* (Lines by old Abraham Cowley, used by Sir Robert Peel in repelling an attack of Wm. Cobett in the British Parliament, 1833).

we should make the *amende honorable* to King George the Third, of gracious (?) memory, and publicly confess to the world at large and to England in particular, that the masked rioters who threw the tea overboard in Boston harbor, and the scattering mob of ranchers who caused tumult and bloodshed at Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill were in reality "Lewd fellows of the baser sort" bent on the subversion of law and order; that they and their aiders and abettors deserved condign punishment at the hands of British Red Coats, and that their memories be now execrated. Nay more, should we not go to Washington City, take down the portrait of the reputed Father of our Country and substitute therefor that of Good (?) King George the Third?

And when we have done all this let us exclaim, Ichabod! Our glory has departed!

Of all we loved and honored, naught
 Save power remains,—
 A fallen angel's pride of thought,
 Still strong in chains.

All else is gone, from those great eyes
 The soul has fled:
 When faith is lost, when honor dies,
 The man is dead!

Seventy-five years ago John Quincy Adams, in a Fourth of July address delivered at Washington, in referring to the "MISSION OF AMERICA" as a member of the great family of nations, with a remarkable foresight of the political heresies and philanthropic neonisms of to-day, raised a warning voice in fervid tone against a departure from the spirit of our institutions, which was prophetic of the dangers now threatening our national life and which appeal to every sentiment of true patriotism and love of country. He said—

"And now, friends and countrymen, if the wise and learned philosophers of the older world, the first observers of nutation and aberration, the discoverers of maddening ether and invisible planets, the inventors of Congreve rockets and Shrapnel shells, should find their hearts disposed to enquire, what has America

done for mankind? Let our answer be this:—America, with the same voice which spoke herself into existence as a nation, proclaimed to mankind the inextinguishable rights of human nature, and the only lawful foundations of government. America, in the assembly of nations, since her admission among them, has invariably, though often fruitlessly, held forth to them the hand of honest friendship, of equal freedom, of generous reciprocity. She has uniformly spoken among them, though often to heedless and often to disdainful ears, the language of equal liberty, equal justice and equal rights. She has in the lapse of nearly half a century, without a single exception, respected the independence of other nations, while asserting and maintaining her own. She has abstained from interference in the concerns of others even when the conflict has been for principles to which she clings, as to the last vital drop that visits the heart. She has seen that probably for centuries to come, all the contents of that Aeldama, the European World, will be contest between *inveterate power and emerging right*. Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. **BUT SHE GOES NOT ABROAD IN SEARCH OF MONSTERS TO DESTROY.** She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all. She is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will recommend the general cause, by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example. *She well knows that by once enlisting under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assume the colors and usurp the standard of freedom.* The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from liberty to force. The frontlet upon her brows would no longer beam with the ineffable splendor of freedom and independence; but in its stead would soon be substituted an imperial diadem, flashing in false and tarnished lustre the murky radiance of dominion and power.

SHE MIGHT BECOME THE DICTATRESS OF THE WORLD; SHE WOULD NO LONGER BE THE RULER OF HER OWN SPIRIT."

The press dispatches of February 17th report President McKinley as also saying (to the Home Market Club of Boston) that our country has a mission. Let me quote from an eminent New York lawyer of to-day, Mr. Wheeler H. Peckham:

"I do, indeed, think that this nation has a noble mission to mankind and humanity. That mission is to show them how to live. To show that it is possible to form a vast political organization which shall be just and honest and free; in which the remedy of war shall be eliminated; in which controversies shall be those of the mind, and in which knowledge and intellect and benevolence shall be the arms used; where the forum shall not be the tented field; where hospitals and ambulances and surgeons and nurses and suffering and death shall not be weapons; but where the forum shall be a Court, where great and good men shall listen to argument and reason, and shall adjudge and decide as right and justice may appear, and where their decisions shall be respected and observed because they are just."

We all know that according to Greek mythology the blue-eyed fair-haired goddess, Minerva, the most beautiful of all Jove's daughters, was the patron saint or protecting goddess of the Greeks in their campaign against the Trojans. She it was who cheered them in their discomfitures and in their hours of gloom inspired them with renewed courage to attempt glorious achievements by heroic efforts for final victory in the overthrow of Troy. But when, in the hour of triumph, the impious Ajax profaned the temple of Liberty—Minerva's—she called to her aid all the avenging furies and lashed the offenders through the world. For this the army of the Greeks was decimated; for this the noble Ulysses wandered painfully over sea and land seeking his Argive home; for this the brand of impiety was set indelibly upon the Greeks. Is there no lesson here for Americans in this their hour of madness?

In the midst of war and rumors of war and all its dread

accompaniments and consequences, its disastrous blunders of policy at home, and savage struggles in the field, it renders more imperative the consideration of the truths which, despite all the blandishments of temporal power and place, were insistently proclaimed by our Lord and Master, Jesus of Nazareth. What shall it profit Americans if they gain the whole world and lose their reverence for and loyalty to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and all the most cherished principles of our fair fabric of liberty, broadbased on the immutable principles of the truth as it is in Jesus?

Confronted by the war-spirit madness which has prevailed in the United States for a year past, I would ask every professing Christian of whatsoever church, sect or denomination, if he believes that, were the Galilean Himself present, looking on at the slaughter of helpless people, He would approve it? Nay more, I ask those ministers of the Gospel who have been so swift to proclaim the benefits and blessings of Christian civilization to follow the triumphs of our arms, whether, in the face of the wild outburst of savagery which has characterized our latest victories, they believe that the evangelizing process which has been adopted is in keeping with the spirit of Christ? Also, whether they believe that war is any other than what Bismark and Sherman have characterized it, "Hell on earth!"

"How long, O Lord! how long
Shall such a priesthood barter truth away,
And in Thy name, for robbery and wrong,
At Thy own altars pray?"

If the spirit of Christ prevail not in our civilization, it is of no more worth than the imperial despotism built up and maintained by Roman Legions, and like it, liable to be overthrown and trampled in the dust by Goths and Vandals in another form.

Entertaining the views that these words indicate, I believe that the inexhaustible spirit of love and brotherhood, which is in Christ Jesus is the only guide to the just and righteous settlement of the difficulties in which our country is now

involved, and that it should be appealed to in the heart of every human being who recognizes the fact that Christ died that we might live.

For my own part I cherish a sympathy for all the dwellers in any land, believing them to be our brethren, in a humanitarian sense, if in no other, and not outside the pale of Christ's redemption and the Fatherly compassion of the Almighty.

My opinion is that our coming national campaign will be a strenuous one, and that the issue will be between AMERICAN DEMOCRACY—broadbased, as it is, on the immutable principles of the truth as it is in Jesus—and Plutocratic Imperialism, to the exclusion of all minor questions—standards of value, currency reform, tariff revision and everything else apart from a contest for and against the lust of ambition, power and pelf. I do not believe that the democratic heart of America will tolerate the sordid, vulgar and ignoble spirit of avarice and vainglory which underlie the present situation. To use Prof. Markham's words, the problem of labor is the sphinx that sits at the threshold of the twentieth century. And we must answer its terrible question, or—? The riddle must be solved. For myself I have Hope and Faith.

Amidst the tumult of unmitigable scorn—
 The old ancestral cries of mortal wrong,
 Hope keeps undimmed the glory of the view,
 Which once was hers when all our land was new.
 Her ears still catch one strain that never dies,
 Held firm through chance and change of earth and skies—
 Her dumb unswerving Faith in good and true.

THE REIGN OF THE COMMON PEOPLE.

SAN FRANCISCO, March 1, 1899.

MR. JOHN J. VALENTINE,

San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Sir:—I had the pleasure to listen to your two lectures dealing with the Philippine question and have been very much impressed with your clear and truthful statement of facts and the strong arguments; which ought to convince every intelligent American that McKinley and his staff are on the wrong path. I am a Hollander by birth and education, have lived seven years on the Island of Java, and was during that time in close contact with the Malay natives and their chiefs. I learned their language, their customs, and know their good and bad habits, virtues and vices, and will say that it is an absurd proposition to even think of absorbing such a race (and the Filipinos are their brothers) in the American nation. Even if through centuries of education their intelligence had vastly increased, even then American principles could not be practiced in their country.

Further; as you remarked so strongly, the Anglo-Saxon cannot live in the tropics without physical, mental and moral degeneration, which degeneration shows itself even after a few years of living in the tropics, and very plainly in the second generation. The severity of the climate is acknowledged by the Dutch Government by the fact that all civil officers have a right to go to the mother country one year for every five years of service in the colonies, and the time of officers and men in the army counts double.

The death rate is high, and most deaths are caused by diseases produced through climatic influences. The natives are short-lived, they are mothers at twelve years; a woman of twenty-five is old and natives of fifty years are rare. That such a climate affects any other race of the temperate zones does not need further argument, and it is fully explained by statistics.

If the American nation, or rather the government—because if the people knew and realized what is in store for them in the future they would oppose as one man—insist in holding these Philippine Islands it simply means the extermination of the native population.

The disappearance of the natives will necessitate the importation of some other tropical race, say Chinese, because manual labor cannot be performed by the Anglo-Saxon in the tropics (even the Chinese in the Dutch colonies abstain from all manual field labor and are traders). A striking example of this course of events are the Hawaiian Islands, since the Americans have settled that country: The natives are fast disappearing; Chinese and Japanese had to be imported to cultivate the soil, and in such numbers that they are at present a menace to the country and at any time when they should realize their power could cripple the industries of those Islands and make them worthless.

The same course of events will take place in the Philippines when gun-powder and bullets have decimated the people and the remainder have been driven back to the mountains—the deadly enemy of the white man who took their all.

If the course of actions now in execution will be continued there will be forever a black spot on the American flag, and the coming generation will dishonor the name of McKinley and those who have been instrumental in forcing this struggle under the most unjust, inhuman and false pretense of bettering the fate of a people who never offended this nation and have the right to be free and own their own.

Nature alone will, in the course of centuries to come, evolutionize and bring those people to a higher level of intellect and make them fit to take place among advanced nations; powder and bullets won't.

And then there is so much to do at home for America, as you justly remarked. Hoping not to have taken too much of your valuable time, I am, Dear Sir,

Respectfully yours,

J. G. VORSTMAN.

